## Message Text

## CONFIDENTIAL

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**ACTION EUR-12** 

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 OMB-01 EB-08 ACDA-12

AGRE-00 COME-00 EA-10 ARA-10 MMO-01 /141 W

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PR 130615Z JUL 78

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9196

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL DAR ES SALAAM 2970

USEEC ALSO FOR EMBASSY BRUSSELS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: FR

SUBJECT: THE EXPANDING CIRCLES OF FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY:
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE US

REF: PARIS 21494

- 1. SUMMARY: FROM THE STANDPOINT OF US INTERESTS, THE FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY CIRCLE FOR AFRICA (REFTEL) DOES NOT LOOK AT ALL GOOD TO US HERE. END SUMMARY.
- 2. REFTEL STRIKES US AS VALUABLE AND INTERESTING CONTRIBUTION TO UNDERSTANDING FRENCH TRENDS AND POLICY WORLDWIDE AND SPECIFICALLY IN AFRICA. AS ALWAYS, HOWEVER, ONE COMES ALMOST IMMEDIATELY TO THE QUESTION OF WHICH AFRICA WE ARE TALKING ABOUT. AS FAR AS TANZANIA (AND WE WOULD GUESS SOME OTHER NON-FRANCOPHONE STATES WITH WHICH IT IS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED) IS CONCERNED, FRENCH POLICY AND ACTIVITIES ON THE CONTINENT ARE HELD IN LOATHING AND CONTEMPT. WHETHER OR NOT WE ARE ABLE TO TRUST FRENCH MOTIVATIONS, WE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO CONCEIVE OF HOW THE FRENCH APPROACH CAN BE COMPATIBLE AND COMPLEMENTARY TO OURS.
- 3. THE BASIC QUESTION IS HOW CAN WE BEST DEFEND WESTERN INTERESTS IN AFRICA. FRANCE'S RECENT WILLINGNESS TO PICK UP THIS ROLE THROUGH MILITARY INTERVENTION AND SUCH IDEAS AS A PAN-AFRICAN CONFIDENTIAL.

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FORCE HAS CAST DOUBTS ON THE BONA FIDES OF THE ENTIRE WEST IN THE MINDS OF NYERERE AND OTHERS. INDEED, IT WAS ONLY BECAUSE WE QUICKLY AND CLEARLY DISASSOCIATED OURSELVES FROM THE FRENCH THAT WE WERE ABLE IN THE PAST MONTH OR TWO TO MAINTAIN OUR BONA FIDES WITH THE PROGRESSIVE AFRICANS. NOT TO HAVE DONE SO WOULD HAVE LOST MOST OF OUR CHANCE TO ACHIEVE CONSTRUCTIVE MOVEMENT ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AND TO ABANDON THE INFLUENCE WE ARE BEGINNING TO DEVELOP WITH SOUTHERN AFRICAN LEADERS ON ETHIOPIAN AND OTHER AFRICAN PROBLEMS.

- 4. IN TERMS OF STRESSING SOVIET AND CUBAN ADVANCES IN AFRICA, WE WEREN'T AWARE HERE THAT THERE WAS ANYTHING PARTICULARLY USEFUL THAT WE OURSELVES WANTED TO BUT NO LONGER COULD DO THAT THE FRENCH HAVE TAKEN ON FOR US. INSOFAR AS THIS MIGHT INVOLVE THE SUPPLY OF TROOPS OR, IF WE MAY BE A BIT GRATUITIOUS, CONTINUED ENCOURAGEMENT AND COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA, WE WOULD THINK OUR DIFFERENCES WITH THE FRENCH WOULD IN FACT BE MORE ONES OF OBJECTIVES THAN OF EMPHASIS AND TACTICS.
- 5. IN SUM, THE US WAY OF TRYING TO CHANNEL AND HARNESS (WE WOULD PREFER WORDS LIKE COOPERATE AND CONSULT WITH) THE POLITICAL IMPETUS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES PROMISES TO BE MUCH

MORE SUCESSFUL IN THIS PART OF THE CONTINENT THAN FRANCE'S WAY. WE COULD, PRESUMABLY, DECIDE TO LET -- OR EVEN PRIVATELY ENCOURAGE -- FRANCE TO DO THE DIRTY WORK FOR US ELSEWHERE, BUT, THAT IS HARDLY A BASIS FOR THE KIND OF HONEST AND OPEN RELATIONSHIP BASED ON AFRICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS THAT IS OUR BASIC FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVE.

6. AT THE RISK OF BEING EVEN MORE GRATUITIOUS, (A) WE CERTAINLY SEE UTILITY IN TRYING TO CONVINCE THE FRENCH OF OUR REASONS FOR PUTTING PRIMARY EMPHASIS ON RELATIONS WITH THE FRONT LINE STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLICY; (B) WE CAN HARDLY REFUSE TO LISTEN TO THEM TRYING TO CONVINCE US OF THE VALUE OF THEIR OWN APPROACH TO STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA; (C) WE ACCEPT THE IMPORTANCE OF UNDERSTANDING AND DIALOGUE WITH FRANCE, A CONFIDENTIAL

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MAJOR WESTERN POWER, ON EUROPEAN AND EAST-WEST MATTERS; (D) BUT AN OBJECTIVE OF MUTUALITY OF ATTITUDE ON AFRICA TERRIFIES US.

**SPAIN** 

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## Message Attributes

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